

Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3175
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L LOURENCO MARQUES 0036

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SF, MZ, BR

SUBJECT: MOZAMBIQUE, PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 0031; (B) STATE 282421 (NOTAL);
THO (C) LOURENCO MARQUES 0030

1. UPON RETURN TO POST AFTER THREE WEEKS' ABSENCE, I HAVE
TAKEN ANOTHER READING ON THE SITUATION HERE IN MOZAMBIQUE AS
IT IMPINGES ON POLITICAL TRENDS BOTH IN PORTUGAL AND IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND ON PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (REF A),
THESE BEING MATTERS OF CONSIDERABLE INTEREST TO THE U.S.
I FIND THAT THE WHOLE-SCALE EXODUS OF PORTUGUESE SETTLERS
CONTINUES, EERIOUS ECONOMIC SHORTAGES ARE INCREASING, AND
THE MODERATE APPROACH (BOTH DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL) OF THE
CHISSANO GOVERNMENT IS BEING CHALLENGED BY THE DRIFT TOWARD
POLITICAG REPRESSION AND ORTHODOX MARXIIM AT HOME AND TOWARD
RADICAL POSTURES ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES BY FRELIMO LEADERS
IN DAR-ES-SALAAM (REF C). IN THE ABSENCE OF ADEQUATE SUPPORT
FROM PORTUGAL AND ITS WESTERN ALLIES, THIS DRIFT AND TPE
"EXCLUSIVE DEPENDENCE" OF THE FRELIMO-LED GOVERNMENT ON THE
COMMUNIST POWERS OF WHICH BRIZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA
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WARNED IN HIS LETTER OF DECEMBER 18 TO THE SECRETARY ARE IN

DANGER OF BECOMING A REALITY. THESE TRENDS ARE BY NO MEANS IRREVERSIBLE: MOZAMBIQUE IS AT A TURNING POINT WHICH DOWN ON PATH COULD LEAD TO PEACEFUL DECOLONIZATION WITHOUT DISTURBING THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL, AS IT ALREADY HAS ONCE IN THE DOWNFALL OF SPINOLA WHO UNSUCCESSFULLY TRIED TO IMPOSE ON THE AFM HIS VIEW THAT THE ABORTIVE WHITE SETTLER UPRISING IN MOZAMBIQUE DEMANDED SLOWER, MORE DEMOCRATIC DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA. THIS PATH COULD ALSO LEAD TO THE CONTINUATION OF POST-INDEPENDENCE FRELIMO REGIME BASED ON THE SUBORDINATION OF IDEOLOGY TO MOZAMBIQUE'S SELF INTEREST IN PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS (PARTICULARLY SOUTH AFRICA) AND RETAINING AT LEAST A SEMBLANCE OF A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. THE OTHER PATH COULD LEAD TO A TROUBLESOME REGIME, IN THE SHORT TERM CALLING ON PORTUGAL TO HELP WHEN THE LATTER IS MOST VULNERABLE AND, IN THE LONGER TERM REACTING TO THE FAILURE OF THE MULTI-RACIAL EXPERIMENT AND TO UNOPPOSED PRESSURES FROM THE COMMUNISTS AND THE RADICAL AFRO-ASIAN BLOC BY ALLOWING ITS TERRITORY TO BE USED AS A BASE FOR GUERRILLA WARFARE AGAINST RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

2. NOT ONLY WOULD PRE-INDEPENDENCE U.S. AID TO THE MOZAMBIQUE ECONOMY BE RESPONSIVE TO A REQUEST WHEN THE NEED IS GREATEST (NOT AFTERWARDS) BUT A U.S. SHOW OF SUPPORT WOULD ALSO HAVE MAXIMUM PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT IN TERMS OF ENCOURAGING THE PORTUGUESE TO STAY (AND INCIDENTALLY TO AVOID ADDING TO UNEMPLOYMENT IN PORTUGAL). THIS IN TURN WOULD HAVE IMMEDIATELY FAVORABLE EFFECTS ON MOZAMBIQUE'S BASICALLY SOUND ECONOMY. OUR SUPPORT WOULD ALSO HELP TO AVOID A SITUATION IN WHICH THE FRELIMO GOVERNMENT, FACED WITH RISING DISCONTENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND STRIKES AMONG THE AFRICANS MIGHT WELL REQUEST THE PORTUGUESE TO STOP THE WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR TROOPS FROM MOZAMBIQUE. PORTUGAL WOULD THUS BE CONFRONTED WITH THE OPTION OF TWO RISKY COURSES WHICH COULD HAVE SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS IN PORTUGAL, I.E., EITHER CONTINUE BRINGING THE BOYS HOME AT THE RISK OF SERIOUS RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN MOZAMBIQUE OR SLOW-DOWN THE WITHDRAWAL WHICH WOULD CAUSE TROUBLE IN THE RANKS AND WITHIN THE AFM.

3. THE AMOUNT OF OUR AID CAN BE MODEST (PRIME MINISTER CHISSANO HAS REQUESTED 16,000 TONS OF WHEAT COSTING ABOUT CONFIDENTIAL

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\$4 MILLION), BUT THE TIMING IS VITAL. STUDYING LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT AID NEEDS IS A SEPARATE (ALBEIT IMPORTANT) EXERCISE BUT NOT AN IMMEDIATELY EFFECTIVE WEAPON FOR SUPPORTING MODERATION AND STABILITY IN MOZAMBIQUE. ANY REVIEW OF OUR OPTIONS ON MOZAMBIQUE SHOULD TAKE THE TIME FACTOR INTO ACCOUNT.

WALKER

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